

Routes to tour in Germany

The German Alpine Route

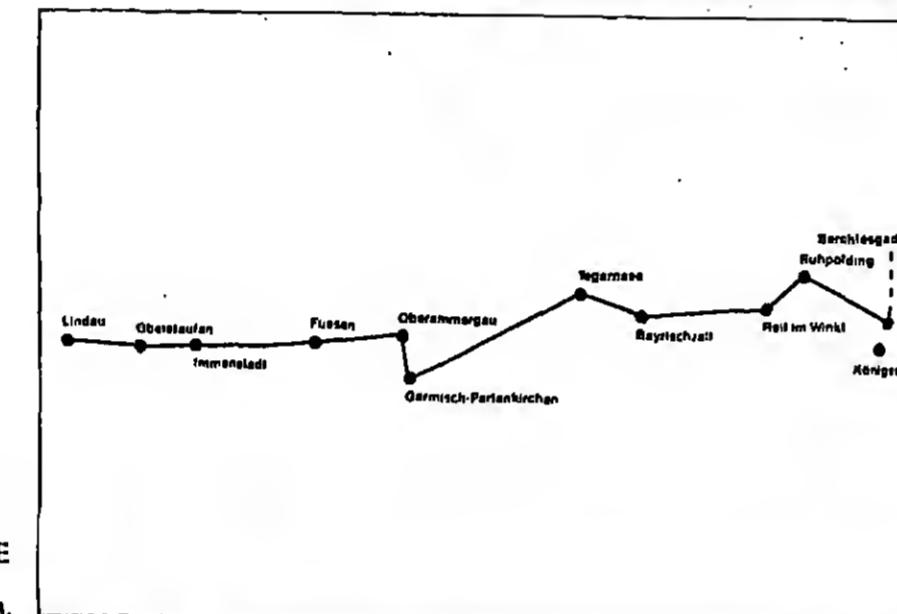
German roads will get you there — so why not try the Alpine foothills with their impressive view of the Alps in silhouette? The route we recommend is 290 miles long. From it, at altitudes of up to 3,300 ft, you can see well into the mountains.

In Germany's deep south viewpoints everywhere beckon you to stop and look. From Lindau on Lake Constance you pass through the western Allgäu plateau to the Allgäu uplands and the Berchtesgaden region. Spas and mountain villages off the beaten track are easily reached via side roads. Winter sports resorts such as Garmisch-Partenkirchen and the Zugspitze, Germany's tallest peak, or Berchtesgaden and the Watzmann must not be missed. Nor must Neuschwanstein, with its fairytale castle, or Oberammergau, home of the world-famous Passion Play.

Visit Germany and let the Alpine Route be your guide.

- 1 Oberammergau
- 2 Königssee
- 3 Lindau
- 4 Neuschwanstein Castle

DZT DEUTSCHE ZENTRALE
FÜRTOURISMUS EV
Beethovenstrasse 69, D-6000 Frankfurt/M.



The German Tribune

Hamburg, 12 June 1988
Twenty-seventh year - No. 1326 - By air

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF THE GERMAN PRESS

C 20725 C
ISSN 0016-8858
DEPOSE A BX X

Trade and technology top Gandhi agenda in Bonn

General-Anzeiger

The first official visit to Bonn by India's Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi, is expected to give fresh impetus to relations between the two countries.

Gandhi was invited to Germany by Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

His mother and predecessor in office, Indira Gandhi, visited Bonn in 1971.

Although India's significance as the leading member of the group of non-aligned states and as a trading partner to Germany has increased since then, top-level bilateral political dialogue has taken a long time to materialise.

During his trip to Asia in April 1986 Chancellor Kohl paid a two-day visit to New Delhi.

This, together with the fact that Germany held its so far biggest exhibition of technology, the Techno-germa, in New Delhi in March underlines India's importance as a major trading partner.

During the New Delhi fair it became clear that both countries would like sustained dialogue to lead to even closer cooperation.

Bonn Economics Minister Martin Bangemann, confirmed at the fair that India is an interesting and popular partner for cooperation.

The Minister for Economic Cooperation, Hans Klein, who also visited India for the exhibition, said that the exhibition marked the start of a second phase of German-Indian cooperation.

During his talks with Indian politicians he also pointed out the desire of the Bonn government and of German industry to enter into an even greater economic partnership with India.

Cooperation between the two countries has existed for more than three decades in many fields, including development policy.

So India has received financial assistance from the Bonn government amounting to roughly DM1.1bn.

Many development projects, such as the steelworks complex in Rourkela in the federal state of Orissa, the Technical Institute IIT in Madras, and the brown coal power plant in Neyveli, 200 kilometres south of Madras, have resulted from German-Indian cooperation.

The Rourkela complex, which once ranked as the most modern steelworks in the whole of Asia, is now over thirty years after it was built — obsolete. Modernisation would cost almost DM2bn.

The funding of the modernisation of this steelworks may play a part during Rajiv Gandhi's talks in Bonn.

German industry hopes that India's new economic policy will give a boost to German-Indian trade.

The growing liberalisation of India's

foreign trade policy together with the size and expansion of the Indian domestic market have led to an increasing number of joint ventures during recent years.

Germany is now India's second most important partner for industrial cooperation (behind the USA).

Over 2,000 cooperation agreements were drawn up between the two countries since 1957, 950 of which are still operative.

The most important investment motive for German firms in India is to establish a long-term foothold on a relatively compact market with considerable growth potential.

The German-Indian balance of trade, however, is in need of redress.

In 1987 India imported goods worth DM3.2bn from Germany, but was only able to export goods to the Federal Republic of Germany worth DM1.6bn.

Although India is the third most important market in Asia (behind Japan and China) for German exports the growing deficit in trade with Germany is causing growing concern for the Indian government.

Rajiv Gandhi's talks in Bonn are also likely to deal with this subject in greater detail.

During his visit to India in 1986 Chancellor Kohl agreed in a joint declaration to intensify scientific and technological cooperation.

Up to now, cooperation in this field has concentrated on a series of joint experiments in space research.

A further key area of cooperation is the energy sector.

The entire energy spectrum, ranging from nuclear and fossil sources of energy to the renewable variety, are included in order to meet India's growing demand for energy.

In the field of nuclear power research activities focus on research into reactor safety.

Cooperation is also to be stepped up in the field of biotechnology.

The first joint projects have already begun on environmental research and environmental technology, microelectronics and medical research.

In India's opinion, it has the third big-

Continued on page 3



Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's first stop in Germany was Stuttgart where he was welcomed by the State Premier, Lothar Späth (right). The HQ of the Indo-German Society is in Stuttgart.

(Photo: dpa)

One of the toughest jobs in the democratic world

As Prime Minister of India, Rajiv Gandhi probably faces one of the world's toughest tasks.

Nowhere does the government of a country which is run on democratic principles similar to our own demand the application of so much courage and skill as in India.

Many races and religions almost permanently jeopardise the unity of the state.

The regular reports of violent conflict between the various ethnic groups only represent macabre culminations.

The tremendous social problems represent the greatest challenge to any Indian Prime Minister.

The fact that the subcontinent is one of the most industrially and technologically advanced regions in the world in certain sectors highlights this aspect even more.

A serious natural catastrophe forced Gandhi to postpone his original plans to visit Bonn last August. This, too, fits in with the overall picture.

Mr Gandhi has been trying to get to grips with the situation since he moved into the government palace in New Delhi after his mother was murdered three and a half years ago.

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At the beginning of 1985 his Congress Party won a clear election victory. Right from the start there was no lack of conflict. The most abrasive were the continuing Sikh rebellion in the north and the only superficially resolved Tamil problem in the south.

In economic and foreign policy, the Prime Minister and his team of technocrats deserve praise.

Gandhi has not only single-mindedly continued his country's economic liberalisation, which was hesitantly introduced by his mother at the beginning of the eighties, but has ambitiously intensified the process.

The strategy of exposing India's industry, which had been shielded for many decades, to international competition was a risk which paid off.

The growing inflow of urgently needed modern technology indicates the growing interest of industrialised nations in India as a rapidly expanding market.

The Techno-germa exhibition in New Delhi in March, the biggest-ever German industrial exhibition abroad, reflects this.

India's improved image was also made possible by an adjustment of the foreign policy course in a country which cooperates closely with Moscow.

The fact that the USA, which is often reputed to have an exaggerated fear of the misuse of its technology abroad, recently exported a supercomputer to India and thus enacted tight export controls, shows the success of this policy.

Mr Gandhi, therefore, not only comes to Bonn as a potential recipient of the representative of a country which is developing fast, he has plenty to offer industrialised countries.

Ewald Stein
(Haushalt, Düsseldorf, 6 June 1988)

WORLD AFFAIRS

The path towards cooperation is the only one open to Europe

Five thousand journalists turn up in Moscow for the Summit — and saw nothing that had much substance.

Yet the week before when something of real significance really did happen — in Hungary — most of the correspondents who were in the spot were in any case those already assigned to Budapest.

President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev had wanted to reach agreement on — and announce — a 50 per cent cut in intercontinental missiles. They failed, but met anyhow because both needed the Summit to improve their respective images at home.

In Hungary, on the other hand, a shift in power was taking place which is almost unparalleled in the Communist world.

The grand old man of Hungarian Communism, János Kádár, and over half of the members of the Politburo were forced to resign.

Reformers are now at the helm in Budapest and the move has European significance.

It is an encouraging signal to Warsaw, a warning to Prague and East Berlin, and a reminder to Western Europe to keep a wary eye on the eastern part of the continent.

The changes which now seem likely are marked by considerable uncertainty.

Of course, the relationship between the leading powers of the two military alliances is still of decisive importance for Europe.

Ten years ago, at a time when Moscow and Washington were on bad terms, this fact disrupted the continuation of detente in Europe.

A spell was broken when Reagan and Gorbachev met for the first time at the end of 1985.

Following their agreement last autumn on the elimination of all medium-range missiles progress again seemed possible in Europe.

The superpowers lay down the overall framework, but Europeans can shape its content. Providing, of course, they can find the strength to do so.

A look back at the past few years underlines this fact.

Whereas almost half a cold war broke out between the Americans and the Russians after Afghanistan the relationship between East and West Europeans remained fair to middling. It was only seriously damaged for the first time by the imposition of martial law in Poland, a European event.

Politicians in both East and West deserve the credit for the fact that the achievements of detente remained intact.

East Berlin leader Erich Honecker gained great respect in the Federal Republic of Germany by sticking to his *Westpolitik* despite pressure from Moscow to move in a different direction.

In the meantime the East is showing a growing interest in the West.

Poland has resumed the policies traditionally pursued with regard to Europe, policies it dropped for some time because of internal weakness. Czechoslovakia is following suit, albeit very cautiously.

All East Bloc economies need cooperation with the industrialised countries in Western Europe.

What is more, the small East Bloc countries discernibly have more free-

SONNTAGSBLATT

dom of movement in their *Ostpolitik* since Gorbachev came to power.

As for the West Europeans it's more a case of being willing but not able.

A dialogue during an East-West conference in Berlin gives an idea of how both sides feel about the East-West border.

A man from Bonn complained that Gorbachev's "European House" is a concept without content; a man from Warsaw replied that it is precisely this which gives the concept a good chance of success: if Gorbachev had an exact building plan, he said, it would be much more difficult to help design the architecture of Europe of the future!

The difference in the general approach has existed for many years.

Almost all the initiatives to develop a European policy for the continent as a whole come from the East.

The West Europeans initially sat back and asked sceptical questions before reacting — if they reacted at all.

The West Europeans always had more room to manoeuvre than the East Europeans, but rarely made full use of it.

If the names of Gorbachev's negotiating partners were Churchill, de Gaulle and Brandt instead of Thatcher, Mitterrand and Kohl there would be a different situation in Europe.

There are still fears, especially in Bonn, that close and long-term cooperation with the Soviet Union means moving away from the United States and that

Moscow has this in mind when it talks of cooperation and a "European House".

c. Gaulle provided evidence to the contrary 20 years ago. Unmoved by Washington's objections he forged links "from the Atlantic to the Urals" — with the result that President Johnson followed his example and declared that the restoration of an entire Europe was America's objective.

The West Europeans can influence their major allies via nation and not just persuasion.

Above all, agreement could be reached on a division of labour. Disarmament in Europe should by no means be left up to the big powers alone; other countries, in particular those directly affected, should be given a say in the alliance as well as in negotiations between the allies.

The Soviet Union and the United States, however, should have the final say. Security cannot be safeguarded through military means alone. A fundamental change in the relationship between East and West cannot be achieved solely via disarmament.

The INF treaty, which scraps all medium-range missiles — the bone of contention during the past decade — was the key to everything else.

Both sides had such a narrow-minded fixation on military aspects that a military agreement was needed to enable renewed political progress.

Political moves must now be made, and the Europeans have a field in which they can make them with lasting success.

Genuine change takes place by single-mindedly creating facts accomplished.

Above all, the path to cooperation is only open to Europe.

Nowhere else in the world has technology, economic development and environmental pollution reached such a level in such a confined area as to be able to necessitate peace.

It would be absurd if Europe were to miss this opportunity.

Peter Bender

Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt,
Hamburg, 5 June 1988

No one can pay for both guns and butter

The rivalry in these areas always influenced the relationship between the superpowers in Europe.

The cold war was only temporarily interrupted by phases of detente: after Stalin's death in 1953, following the Cuban Crisis in 1962, and during the tense years between 1969 and 1973.

In each case the thaw soon gave way in a renewed period of frost.

And through it all the arms race continued, spurred on by the "hawks" on both sides. It cost a fortune and gave no-one greater security.

Efforts were repeatedly made to put an end to the rivalry and the arms race, reduce deeply-rooted prejudices and enable a transition from confrontation to cooperation.

To no avail, since the superpowers were rarely willing to talk to each other at the same time.

At a time when greater cooperation seemed possible in the wake of America's withdrawal from Vietnam it was Leonid Brezhnev who ruined existing chances via his expansionistic policies.

The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan was clearly one of the factors which took President Reagan into the White

Europe, on the other hand, it can also be based on cooperation.

A network of commitments and ties can be established in Europe to create interdependence.

A situation which Western Europe has already achieved could serve as a model. No single land, even if it wanted to, is in a position today to invade another, since all countries have such close economic and technological ties.

Yet it seems unlikely that such a situation can be created for Europe as a whole, since a continent such as the Soviet Union would not let itself be led down economically.

In Eastern Europe's case, however, which has reached rockbottom economically, interests and constraints can be developed to make restraint expedient.

Western Europe should try to make itself unassailable by making itself indispensable.

Although this would not make defence superfluous, it would make it easier to disarm more readily.

Security via cooperation is the means via which the small and medium-sized countries Europe can contribute to world stability and peace.

Only the big powers will be able to take the really big steps for many years to come, even though all nations can step up cooperation.

Cooperation does not demand drastic decisions but resolute and purposeful attention to detail. It promises reliable but not speedy results.

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THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

Idea of just one embassy to represent The Twelve is still a distant dream

The major political issues in the European Community are setting up: a common market, a monetary union, and a central bank.

The Community is preparing for a single market with over 320 million consumers by 1992.

The sluggish adoption of the corresponding guidelines by the Council of Ministers indicates what a difficult goal this is.

The discussion about a common monetary zone reveals differences of opinion over the future shape of the Community.

While outlining the programme of the German Community presidency to the European Parliament in Strasbourg at the beginning of January, Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher also described a common European foreign policy as a major objective along the path to greater unification.

He emphasised that the initial steps towards attaining this objective within the context of European political cooperation must be consolidated.

He stressed that Europe must remain an incomplete idea without extensive cooperation in security and defence.

He referred to the Single European Act, which he hoped would also provide fresh impetus to unification in the foreign policy.

In this Act, which came into force on 1 July last year, Community countries promised to work towards a common European foreign policy.

They made a commitment to consult in an effort to align views and thus have a more effective voice.

They announced their willingness to intensify coordination on political and economic aspects of security policy.

This approach is not universally welcomed: Ireland, for example, said its new

Continued from page 2

race have cost the United States its leading position in the economic and technological fields; military spending in the Soviet Union has taken it deeper and deeper into economic backwardness.

Furthermore, both powers have realised that the endless external involvements cause nothing but trouble. Today's motto is to sort things out.

Although both countries will not stop trying to pull strings in other countries they will be paying greater attention to the problems in their own countries.

Armenia and armed forces will no longer be taken into account for a country's power. This is a chance for the future and cause for optimism.

At the same time Moscow and Washington have realised at the same time that they must make a new start.

Admittedly, Ronald Reagan is an old man, near the end of his final presidential term, and Mikhail Gorbachev a young man, who knows what he wants but is not sure whether he can achieve it.

If they have managed to mark out a route into the future, able to give hope to mankind, it should be possible to turn this into an avenue of cooperation following the forthcoming change in the White House and the overdue consolidation in the Kremlin.

A new epoch would then have really commenced.

Theo Sommer

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 5 June 1988)

tion Council scheduled for June is also the result of joint efforts by the European Community and EPC.

If the European Community decided to back sanctions against South Africa the decision would be taken within the framework of European political cooperation, but any sanctionary measures (for example, in the steel policy) would have to be imposed by the Community.

It is emphasised in Brussels and in Community capitals that this mixed approach leads to parallelisms but not to conflicts and rivalry.

The Commission feels like a partner with equal rights. This is often expressed symbolically by certain gestures; for example, during the EPC meetings the representative of the Commission always sits next to the representative of the country holding presidency.

If discussions deal with security policy the Commission representative remains silent.

European political cooperation helps the Commission during crisis management, as in the case of the recurrent trade policy conflicts with the United States.

Consultations between Washington and the "troika" — the incumbent presidency, its predecessor and its successor — are an early warning system.

Via this machinery of foreign policy cooperation the Community of Twelve opted for a procedure which differs from the usual institutions and decision-making processes in the Community.

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The fact that it is located in the Council of Ministers building could not be taken for granted.

Some countries, such as Denmark and Ireland, favoured a separate location to emphasise the distinction between the Council and this institution.

In the meantime routine has allayed the fears expressed by sceptics.

Nevertheless, the Secretariat is still seeking its own independent role.

France would like to see the Secretariat become more important within the framework of EPC without assuming an independent external role.

Even though the Secretariat is not the germ cell of a future European External Relations Ministry it has proved its value in Brussels.

The head of the Secretariat, the Italian diplomatic Januzzi, is aware of the restricted nature of his task.

Nevertheless, he regards the fact that a helping hand was provided to smaller countries during their presidency of the Community as a success.

Januzzi, who was appointed by the Council of Ministers, is proud of the fact that the Secretariat could function as a symbol of cooperation and the desire for political continuity.

Whereas the chairmanship of the EPC's over twenty work groups changes every six months, the representative of the Secretariat is appointed for two-and-a-half years.

The Secretariat helps out during ministerial meetings and handles correspondence with the

■ ETHNIC GERMAN MIGRANTS

Transit centres feel the strain as East Bloc issues more exit visas

STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG

man emigrants have lung since been overawed.

Transit centres throughout the country are finding it difficult coping and, because the problem seems like getting worse before it gets better, investigations are being made at Bonn Cabinet level to see what should be done.

The number of ethnic Germans seeking residence permits has remained at 34,000 a year since 1968. But this figure was already exceeded — and easily — in the first four months of this year.

Almost 39,000 emigrants had been registered by the end of April. Two thirds were from the former German areas of Upper Silesia and the southern (now Polish) part of East Prussia.

The number of emigrants from the Soviet Union has also increased since changes in regulations in 1986 — the migrants to benefit are from the Ukraine, Lithuania and other areas with many ethnic Germans.

Roughly 5,000 Germans a year had received a exit permits since 1968. Last year, this rose to 15,000 and in the first four months of this year, 9,500.

At the traditional Whitsun gathering of the Transylvanian Saxons in Dinkelsbühl, state secretary Carl-Dieter Spranger (CSU) said the Bonn government expects between 150,000 and 160,000 ethnic-German emigrants from all sources this year.

The drastic increase is mainly due to the sharp rise from Poland — already more than doubled in 1987 compared to the average for many years.

Up until April this year there were already half as many emigrants from Poland as in the whole of 1981, a year when the internal crisis in Poland and with it the exodus of emigrants peaked for the first time.

These figures only cover "compatriots" who are officially recognised as Germans — in accordance with Article 116 of the West German constitution, the various nationality laws, and a decision by the Federal Administrative Court in 1961 — either because they or their parents did not turn down the compulsory German nationality decree by Hitler between 1938 and 1945 or because they lived as German refugees in former German territories in the East.

According to the Bonn Interior Ministry, at least a further 35,000 Poles who are not ethnic Germans make their way to the Federal Republic each year, using their tourist visas to stay in the West for good — either illegally or as officially recognised applicants for political asylum.

In addition, Bonn is convinced that each year about 67,000 more Poles have their six-month tourist visa extended for three months in order to work illegally in Germany and take a few more D-marks back to Poland.

Correspondents report that up to 1,000 visa applications are currently being handled every day in the German embassy in Warsaw.

The reception camps for ethnic Ger-

man emigrants have long since been overawed.

Up until 1980 the Federal Government had plans for special programmes for emigrants within the framework of the government housing promotion scheme, but then dropped the idea.

In a cabinet meeting last month, Bonn Interior Minister Friedrich Zimmermann (CSU) and his CSU colleague, Bonn Housing Minister Oscar Schneider made a renewed attempt to tap up federal funds for low-cost government-subsidised housing, which had been reduced to DM450m in the previous year.

Bonn Finance Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg (CDU), however, is hesitant and points towards empty federal coffers.

The highest problem is not whether the emigrants will find employment.

Experience in Baden-Württemberg has shown that most have a job after six months. The fact that they are not too close helps.

The financial costs for the Länder and the municipalities, which are ob-

liged to admit the emigrants by the terms of the constitution, are low.

Most either receive dole (from the Federal Labour Office) or pension money; only 20 per cent rely on social security money.

The major problem is the lack of housing, especially in those areas where most want to live because of family ties.

As many ethnic Germans are the descendants of Swabian emigrants, a disproportionately high number move in low-cost flats subsidised by the state or local authorities.

According to the Baden-Württemberg Interior Ministry in Stuttgart 20 per cent of all emigrants live in Baden-Württemberg, even though this Land has only 15.2 per cent of the West German population.

Carl-Dieter Spranger called the influx of emigrants during recent months "a major challenge to us all."

He said that the government in Bonn, the Länder, the municipalities, religious groups, charitable organisations, and the exile associations must join forces to meet it.

After all, he emphasised, the emigrants are those Germans "who have suffered more than us all from the consequences of the second world war."

Spranger added that many of them even have inhibitions to speak German in their countries of origin after years of "rigorous assimilation policies."

Spranger complained that the ethnic German emigrants are repeatedly mistaken for foreigners. *Jörg Bischoff* (Stuttgarter Zeitung, 26 May 1988)

Returning to a home they've never seen

Young women with an obvious look of embarrassment try to pacify their crying babies with brown breadcrusts.

A few teenagers have their guitars with them, packed in hand-sewn material, yellow with a red floral pattern, repeated on the headscarves worn by several younger women.

They all sit or stand quietly, saying not a word as they wait.

Once the Lufthansa jet is airborne, half an hour late but at full cruising altitude and speed, drinks are served, seat belts are fastened and the imperceptible tension eases.

SPD Bundestag MP Karsten Voigt exchanges a few words with a young couple with a child sitting in front of him.

Embarrassed, with diverted, floorward gaze, the couple apologetically explain: "We haven't slept for three nights."

They come from Kirgizia and speak anglicised German, Swabian dialect with a Russian accent. It is the language they have preferred for 200 melting-pot years.

After registering at a reception camp they plan to stay with relatives near Frankfurt. By a stroke of luck Herr Voigt represents their constituency in the Bonn Bundestag, so he promises to lend a helping hand.

"Are we over German yet?" asks a man of about 30 in the queue waiting to use the toilet. He has worked out that the plane should cross the border after two hours at 10,600 metres, and he doesn't want to miss a moment he has long looked forward to. Others, exhausted, are already fast asleep.

Two men aged about 50 sit next to them, wearing flat caps and button-down farmers' shirts without ties. They bring to mind the family that sought the assistance of this newspaper's Moscow office.

"We are writing to you as Germans," they wrote. "Do all you can. We will be grateful to you for the rest of our lives."

Klaus J. Schreiber (Die Welt, Bonn, 24 May 1988)

men, surveys the scene and says: "The old folk will have a very hard time if I have no worries where the younger ones are concerned."

In long years of local government he has found them to be both physically strong and willing to set to with a will. Reception camp officials agree that ethnic German new arrivals are keen to do all they can but know that they aren't always popular with people in the Federal Republic of Germany.

"Some people are far from happy when others arrive, turn up their shirt-sleeves and work hard."

During the three-hour flight from Moscow to Frankfurt they are most reluctant to ask a question that unquestionably worries them: how they will be viewed and received by their fellow-Germans in the Federal Republic.

Their staying-power and their determination to leave the Soviet Union are based on a sense of nationality their families have upheld for seven generations outside Germany, a sentiment many in the new "old" country may find hard to understand.

An older man who speaks much better German than his son quotes from a German magazine article a fellow-traveller recently arrived in the Federal Republic of Germany.

Catherine the Great, who invited the Swabians to settle in Russia, promised them they would be allowed to return to Germany. Her promise has been honoured over 200 years later.

At a rough estimate several thousand ethnic Germans are still keen to leave the Soviet Union. Some have been on the waiting-list for years.

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■ PERSPECTIVE

Diplomacy hits at Berlin's trade potential

Visits by Premiers of individual German Länder to East Bloc countries put West Berlin at an disadvantage, the Fifth German Policy Forum was told.

Peter Bender, a journalist, said the mayor of Berlin could not travel so freely without first solving diplomatic problems.

As a result, Berlin was pushed to one side in efforts to develop trade with the East Bloc.

The Forum, held in Bonn by the Friederich Ebert Foundation, dealt with the Future of Berlin in the Common House of Europe.

The highest-ranking member of the audience, Willy Brandt, hon. president of the SPD and a former Governing Mayor of Berlin, left visibly satisfied with the legal analyses and new ideas on improving Berlin's situation he had heard.

Dieter Schröder of the Free University of Berlin, said Berlin, in terms of its legal status, retained vestiges of a regulatory principle that had held good in 1945.

On the periphery of European subsystems it had, however, emerged as one of the most open cities in both the West and the East.

Yet the two parts of the city remained closely linked with their respective German states.

Professor Schröder made a fairly so-



Waft of the West. Diplomats from many countries seeing for themselves the German-German border in all its glory. (Photo: dpa)

the specific proposals made by President Reagan.

For him the Berlin airlift, which began 40 years ago in June, was a significant starting point of both Western commitments in Berlin and, by the same token, of German ties with the West.

The Soviet Union had hoped the blockade might strike at the West's most vulnerable point; in reality it had come up against its strongest point.

The Kremlin had taken 20 years to learn its lesson and show willing to negotiate on the Four-Power Berlin Agreement signed in 1971.

Dohbins agreed with Professor Schröder in seeing a "period of new movement and fresh possibilities for Berlin" that lay ahead.

The task facing the Protecting Powers was to negotiate with their Eastern counterpart and improve the city's position, while the Federal government must stand up for the interests of the western part of the city in international relations.

Last but not least, the Berlin Senate must negotiate in every context as a Land, or Federal state.

This threefold endeavour naturally entailed running risks, but it also presented a challenge.

Dobbs noted more than once that the United States would energetically take up this challenge. "We cannot stay on as mereenaries," he said at one stage, "we are all working for the day when Berlin no longer needs Protecting Powers."

The true aim of President Reagan's proposals had been to establish a link between this protective role and political dynamism.

They had included deregulation of civil aviation, the holding of more conferences in Berlin and the staging of the Olympic Games in the divided city.

Berlin expert and *Westdeutscher Rundfunk* commentator Peter Bender showed great imagination, as one speaker put it, in assembling an entire package of proposals on how the city's location disadvantage could be transformed into an advantage.

Berlin might lie on the outskirts of Germany but it lay, he said, in the heart of Europe. A European policy along Helsinki lines was what was needed.

The individual points of the Reagan Plan were a "great step forward" for the people of Berlin.

There were many sectors in which West Berlin could be of use to the East. Arts activities could, for instance, be extended to include greater coverage of the East. Besides, there were sectors in

Continued on page 7

East Bloc turns down chance to see border

It was an invitation they couldn't not refuse: an invitation to visit the fenced and walled border between the two Germanies to see what the division of Germany means.

The invitation was from the Bonn Inter-German Affairs Minister, Dorothee Wilms. Diplomats from all over the world did accept — almost. All East Bloc envoys rejected the chance.

The most impressive example of what Frau Wilms wanted to show the foreign visitors is the village of Görsdorf, which formally belonged to the province of Coburg and now lies just across the border. Instead of a wide and empty strip of land there is only a wall, or "visibility shield" as the East German authorities call it, just like in Berlin.

Chung Sup Shin, South Korea's ambassador in Bonn, was asked whether the walled-up section of the border reminded him of the situation in his own divided country.

"Not really," he said, "everything here is so — peaceful."

He was right. On the other side of border, a country bus could be seen driving between a handful of houses, and children were playing in the lot May sun.

They didn't seem to be bothered by the group standing on the western side of the wall.

The use of the word "peaceful" by the diplomat from Seoul refers, of course, to the fact that people in both parts of Germany are moving closer together step by step, not to the situation of a divided German nation.

Attempts by North and South Korea to reach a better understanding, on the other hand, are bogged down, said the ambassador.

The almost 1,400-kilometre inner-German border is apparently also a matter of concern for the foreign diplomats in the Federal Republic. The group had the opportunity to fly over the flood retention basin in Schönstadt in a border guard helicopter, in line with an agreement between the two German states this border area can be flooded to prevent floods in Coburg.

Minister Wilms reiterated her call for visitors from East Germany to bring their East marks to the Federal Republic and exchange them there.

She also called upon East Berlin to improve its infrastructure, from its hotels to its souvenir shops, so enable increased tourism from the West and so that East Berlin would have foreign exchange for tourists in the other direction.

Many members of the group were aware of these problems and were keen on hearing more information. The fact-finding mission, it seemed, was a great success.

During a similar visit to Hesse in 1987 it was the Spanish ambassador who suggested the idea to the Ministry.

Many people have already expressed their interest in the planned visit to Lübeck in 1989...

Almost all diplomats emphasised that it is difficult to compare the artificial division of Germany with situations in other countries.

Nevertheless, some diplomats did see a parallel to their own countries.

Costa Rica's representative said: "We are a democratic country surrounded by the danger of revolution and dictatorship."

Continued on page 9

■ FINANCE

Head of World Bank hits at policy critics

Criticism that structural-adjustment programmes were sources of increased poverty in the Third World were false and harmful, said the President of the World Bank, Barber Conable, in a talk to German business chiefs. He said the example of Ghana and Mauritius were just two that showed how such programmes could promote growth and alleviate poverty. This report of Conable's speech in Bonn to the standing conference of German chambers of commerce and industry appeared in *Süddeutsche Zeitung*.

World Bank president Barber Conable called on the industrialised and developed countries to create better conditions for inflation-free economic growth and to combat poverty in the Third World through concerted political initiatives.

Speaking in Bonn to representatives of the standing conference of chambers of commerce and industry (DIHT), he said that the industrialised nations, whose heads of government meet at the world economic summit in Toronto this month, shared a responsibility in achieving this goal.

In Toronto, efforts would be made not just to discuss the problems, but also to reach concrete solutions.

Conable said that, after talks in the Chancellery, he agreed with Chancellor Helmut Kohl that a four-point strategy must be followed up at Toronto to improve international economic guidelines to relieve Third World poverty.

First, the USA must keep reduce its budget and trade deficit. This would remove a major obstacle to continued international economic growth.

Second, Japan and those European Community countries with trade surpluses must stimulate domestic growth; and the American economy must develop long-term economic growth.

Third, the industrial countries must jointly take steps to push forward negotiations in Gatt for the dismantling of trade barriers in oil sectors.

Fourth, all forms of financing in developing countries must be activated, developing countries.

In the threshold nations most financial requirements could be provided by private investors, but in the least developed countries increased assistance from state organisations and multinational operations were indispensable.

In many countries poverty has increased in this decade, Conable said. Timely assistance would be of decisive importance to support those developing countries which have tackled essential economic reforms.

The World Bank was helping these countries to frame and put into operation their reform programmes to accelerate growth rates and alleviate poverty.

What was at stake here was economic, political and social change.

Conable said that poor people could only become "less poor" if they had access to their resources, via their national budget, through credit, through control of capital investment and fundamentally by a greater participation in decision-making that affected their daily lives.

Private organisations, alongside indus-

trial nations and their governments, could play a helpful role in reducing poverty. The World Bank has decided to intensify its cooperation with all non-governmental organisations in coping with this task.

Conable said that he regarded as false and harmful criticisms that the sources of increasing poverty in the Third World were the programmes of structural adjustment imposed on the countries of the Third World.

The examples of Ghana and Mauritius were just two of many that had made clear that adjustment programmes of this sort could promote growth and help alleviate poverty in these countries.

In many countries the redistribution of government expenditure, aimed at more effective economic growth, meant also the redistribution of resources for the benefit of social classes with particularly low incomes.

Nevertheless it should not be forgotten that structural adjustment programmes placed additional burdens on the especially poor.

The redistribution of resources in agriculture hit the poor in the cities the hardest by higher production costs.

The World Bank is working closely with these governments to make bearable for the poor particularly painful adjustment measures, Conable said.

In this connection he emphasised that the World Bank placed considerable weight on environmental protection programmes despite the problems of just living that existed in these countries.

Self-supporting economic growth in developing countries demanded more environmental protection, that could only be implemented by successfully dealing with poverty.

The worst environmental problem in developing countries was a direct consequence of overexploitation of natural resources by people who lived on the edge of despair.

Major figures in the international financial world are expected — 11,000 people have said they will be attending. They include 150 finance ministers, many heads of central banks and about 1,000 journalists.

Intensive preparations have been under way for the post year. The conference will cost DM30m, central government, the Bundesbank and Berlin itself are each putting up a third of this sum.

In the new exhibition halls directly next to ICC, where the conference is to take place, 540 fully-furnished offices are being set up. They will include a telephone exchange with over 400 lines and 1,100 extensions.

Critics of the World Bank and IMF claim that both organisations are responsible for the impoverishment of the Third World. They speak of "exploitation" and describe the World Bank and IMF as "debt collectors" for the major banks.

(*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, Munich, 27 May 1988)

Simmering mood of violent protest awaits IMF meeting

Protest groups want to arrange a talk by the Cuban leader, Fidel Castro, during the meeting of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank in Berlin later this year. In spite of claims that the protests will be non-violent, there is evidence that this will be anything but. Stickers appearing on walls give notice that September will be a time for riots in the streets. This article was written by Liselotte Müller for *Mannheimer Morgen*.

If you are thinking of going to Berlin at the end of September, don't. All the best hotels will be booked out and tickets for the opera and Philharmonic will be hard to get.

From 27 to 29 September thousands will be flocking to Berlin to the most important international conference in the post-war period; the conference of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

It is hoped that the conference will be a major event for Berlin's international public relations image.

The presence of representatives of "Big Money" should be used to get more people interested in investing in Berlin.

Finance senator Günter Rexrodt said: "We want to show that we are not a small, remote outpost in the East Bloc, just bobbing up and down."

Berlin also wants to show itself off as a suitable venue for international conferences.

Major figures in the international financial world are expected — 11,000 people have said they will be attending. They include 150 finance ministers, many heads of central banks and about 1,000 journalists.

The slogan "B-Day is coming," the B standing for Berlin, has appeared on house walls in the city. Stickers announce that there is to be a "fighting festival in September."

It is feared that the violent elements that went into action in Frankfurt protesting at the construction of a new runway and at Wackersdorf about the nuclear reprocessing plant, will be targeting their activities on Berlin in September.

For this reason security precautions are being applied as if it were a political summit. Interior senator Wilhelm Kewenig has already announced that he will not fight shy of stopping underground traffic to the Kreuzberg district of Berlin, as was done during President Reagan's visit to the city.

Police from other Länder will also be brought into Berlin and the possibilities of preventing anarchists from entering the city are being examined.

If there should be rioting during the congress quite the opposite will be achieved to what is intended.

Instead of gaining in reputation Berlin's public image will take a battering.

Liselotte Müller
(*Mannheimer Morgen*, 28 May 1988)

Changes in the emphases of development aid

Bankers in Africa as the World Bank, so future cooperation would be progress for the states concerned because of the Community's greater experience in Africa.

He said that the EC would in no way be trailing behind the Washington-based IMF.

Denmark, Ireland and several other EC countries have only agreed reluctantly to the new arrangement. The development aid strategy pursued and the conditions applied by the World Bank and the IMF for the countries involved are very controversial.

State secretary Vuktor Kohler from the Development Aid Ministry told journalists that the EC and its member-states are just as important financial

In 1982 the EC's top priority among

the African states was to make them self-supporting in food production.

This policy, supported by France, Britain and the Federal Republic, is now being extended by promoting cross-frontier markets between the African states and the private sector in these states.

According to the Council of Ministers' decision the economic reforms in the African states should be pragmatic and be adjusted to the differing conditions and peculiarities of each country.

Long-term economic growth must be striven for in agreement with governments there by injections of money. Environmental aspects will also be taken into consideration.

The Council of Ministers agreed that a new Lomé Agreement should not be limited to a five-year period of validity in the past.

The inclusion of Haiti and the Dominican Republic in the ACP states and the new Lomé Agreement were approved in principle.

Erich Hauser
(General-Anzeiger, Bonn, 1 June 1988)

■ BUSINESS

Daimler-Benz sees countertrade as key to marketing strategy

Countertrade, or barter, is going through something of a revival. It is often run along involved lines with several parties and combinations of fit-for-tat goods and cash sometimes making up the difference. Countertrade is liked by countries with a shortage of foreign currency. The big disadvantage in many cases is lack of quality in some products from some countries. In this story for the *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, Klaus Dieter Oehler writes that Daimler-Benz sees countertrade as a way of maintaining sales.

"But in many countries we no longer have any choice but to accept some degree of countertrade."

This problem is most readily apparent in business with government agencies. Five years ago Daimler were only able to sell the Australian army Unimog jeeps in return for a commitment to buy \$50m worth of Australian goods.

"As a rule," he says, "governments insist on countertrade on a basis of one to one, and at times of one to one and a half or even two."

The East Bloc states are veterans in barter trading. All their business is routed via some government department or other.

Daimler-Benz is entering more countertrade arrangements in its efforts to export commercial vehicles. But it is not keen to say much about it.

Gerhard Liener, head of finance and supplies at the company's Stuttgart head office, says: "There isn't much to talk about."

There seems to be no immediate risk of a decline in demand for Daimler-Benz trucks. They are selling fast and the Manchester works have plenty of orders for Mercedes buses.

But world markets are getting tougher, even for Daimler-Benz. So in the long term the company's Stuttgart strategists are banking on barter, offset and countertrade.

There can be no question of trading trucks in return for apples, as some critics have heavily imagined, Herr Liener says.

Daimler preferred not to do so, but

If Daimler-Benz weren't prepared to consider countertrade they could forget any idea of doing business with African and South American countries that are up to their eyes in debt to the West.

Lacking the least idea how to sell freightloads of ore, the Daimler-Benz management has joined forces with Metallgesellschaft, which has this know-how.

"We are only now in a position to talk countertrade terms with the governments of countries of this kind," Herr Liener says.

The past such arrangements have been on a small scale. The warning triangles that are part of the equipment with which Mercedes cars are supplied was manufactured in some East Bloc country or other.

Screwdrivers or jacks were similarly suitable for exchange, except that a single Daimler truck is worth the equivalent of an entire year's output of screwdrivers.

In recent years the Daimler-Benz subsidiary has done between DM20m and DM200m of business a year. "The volume of countertrade varies substantially," Herr Liener says.

This year he expects countertrade turnover to total DM125m, not including business conducted jointly with Me-

Continued from page 5
which possible East-West cooperation lay fallow.

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taligesellschaft. "That," he says, "holds the key to new markets. There is no way of telling what the net benefit will be." But it will be substantial.

At the Daimler-Benz head office mention is made of figures more befitting a group with consolidated turnover totalling tens of billions.

But, as Herr Liener says, "we must wait and see." Daimler-Benz are not alone in not knowing how much business might be done on a countertrade basis.

Nothing but rough estimates are available as to the sum total of business done on a barter basis worldwide. The IMF, for instance, feels only one percent or so of world import-export business is countertraded.

Until experts work on the assumption that the true figure is eight per cent, while a number of independent experts say the bona fide percentage could be as high as forty.

Metallgesellschaft's Heinrich Binder

attributes these variations to the diffi-

STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG

culty in deciding where cash trading ends and countertrading begins. There are so many different varieties.

Besides, barter, offset and countertrade are not, as a rule, separately listed in official statistics, especially as the parties to such arrangements are reluctant to go into details.

Herr Binder is convinced that countertrade will increase substantially in the years to come, and not just in Daimler-Benz. Developing countries, he says, are so heavily in debt that they have little leeway for "ordinary" business.

What is more, other countries are increasingly keen, as competition grows tougher in world trade, to promote exports by insisting on imports being offset by exports.

Planned economies will be even keener to rely on countertrade. This point was recently made by Soviet officials in negotiating with German banks a credit line for modernising their consumer goods industry.

Even the OPEC countries, who used to be wary of foreign exchange, are showing more interest in barter deals.

Private enterprise is accordingly paying more attention to countertrade as a marketing facility.

"We can now offer to buy something from our business associates in return," says Herr Liener. "That could clinch a contract."

Daimler-Benz are not alone in feeling that this could be the shape of things to come.

Klaus Dieter Oehler
(*Stuttgarter Zeitung*, 21 May 1988)

with the East Bloc. Only five per cent of the city's exports are sold to the East.

Bender also envisaged a more intensive exchange of ideas between East and West. Why, he asked, couldn't a Soviet counterpart to the Aspen Institute be set up in East or West Berlin and a free exchange of views on all political issues be held there?

The common line in the debate was that this could be the shape of things to come.

In terms of the common European house the strengthening of the city's position called for by all speakers amounted, as one observer put it, to "removing from the basement to the first floor."

Thomas Witke
(General-Anzeiger, Bonn, 19 May 1988)

■ TRANSPORT

Everything to do with getting around

DIE WELT
INTERNATIONALES TAGEBLATT DER DEUTSCHEN REPUBLIK

International representation at trade fairs depends mainly on the fair's location, as shown by an analysis of exhibits at the IVA '88 transport fair in Hamburg.

About 20 per cent of exhibitors are from abroad. Of them, 87 per cent are from Europe and 13 per cent from overseas.

There is evidently no connection between a country's size and the exhibition space it books.

Belgium was the foreign country with the most stand space in Hamburg, followed by Italy, Britain, France and Austria.

Then came Japan, East Germany, Switzerland, Denmark, Czechoslovakia, Holland, Finland, the United States, Hungary and Sweden.

The presentation of an extremely wide range of exhibits, from electric locomotives and port models to text and visual aids, reflected the scope of the exhibition covered.

It includes political and economic features and intergovernmental and technical aspects.

The selection of exhibits will have been partly influenced by the fact that some had already been shown, or were due to be unveiled, at other specialised trade fairs.

They included, for instance, mechanical engineering fairs, shipping and shipbuilding exhibitions, air and car shows.

About half the foreign countries represented in Hamburg shared national stands at which they featured details of their specific transport situation, their airlines (Air France, Swissair or Alitalia, say) and the interface between domestic and foreign transport systems.

Visitors were also shown a range of medium- and long-term transport plans extending, in some cases, well into the 21st century.

These joint stands are run independently of exhibits by individual companies, groups or associations. This list merely exemplifies the wide range of exhibits; it is not meant to be a value assessment of any kind. Belgium, the largest exhibitor in stand space terms, featured a joint stand, a number of private firms (in, say, computers and communications), the activities of the International Public Transport Association and those of the Belgian Foreign Trade Agency. Italy presented commercial vehicles, traffic control systems, telecom facilities, vehicle identi-



One end of the Dover-to-Calais Channel Tunnel rail system in miniature as shown at the Hamburg exhibition.

(Photo: dpa)

ification systems and high-speed rail projects.

Japan exhibited cars, four-wheel drive and commercial vehicles.

Britain featured the Port of London, British Rail, container development and overseas trade, plus a model of the Channel Tunnel.

A consortium of 10 British and French firms combining the financing, design, construction and operation of the tunnel plans to link Britain and the Continent by 1993.

The importance of the Channel Tunnel is underlined by the fact that it will facilitate and intensify relations between markets consisting of 57m and 290m people respectively.

In addition to their joint stand the Dutch presented the Port of Rotterdam and new developments in coachbuilding.

Czech companies exhibited models of electric locomotives, goods wagons and trolley buses.

France, as was only to be expected, featured its high-speed rail services, or *trains à grande vitesse*, the second generation of which is to be taken into service next year.

TGV services will then run at 11-percent higher speeds and with seating capacity increased by 20 per cent.

The French also presented the Ports of Strasbourg, Paris and Marseilles.

Finland exhibited a car-wash facility for commercial vehicles, while Hungary presented containers and models of cranes.

The East Germans concentrated on

electric locomotives and extended-capacity passenger carriages and goods wagons, plus scale models of trucks, buses and a ferry.

Swiss firms featured electronic equipment and systems for public transport, plus two new articulated trucks, notice boards, smaller items and scale models.

Austria presented the high performance of Austrian Rail and a new rail concept incorporating a wide range of structural improvements and high-tech information systems.

Denmark and Sweden presented new noise abatement techniques for use in rail and ship transport, optical cable data transmission and ship's models. A special exhibit featured the Port of Malmö.

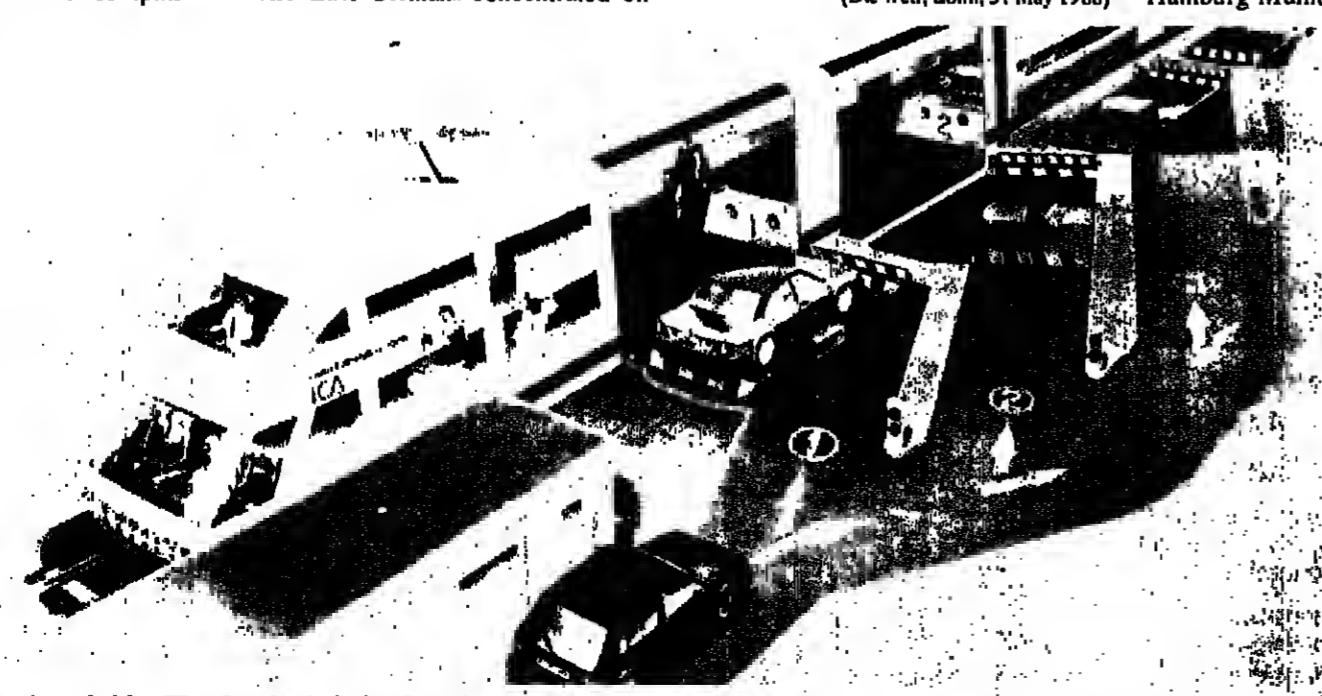
Rail, road and water transport predominated, the Hanover air show having been held only a few weeks before.

These periods are getting fewer all the time as more and more people fly off for a few days holiday on a long weekend, at Christmas, Easter or Whitsun. From mid-June the position will become really bad when the school holidays begin.

It remains to be seen when the first such service will be available. Johann Peter Blank, head of the Bundesbahn central office in Minden, says both the Federal government and the railways are short of cash.

If the new Intercity express services catch on, we can then set about providing new autorail services," he says. Hamburg-Münich run, including 330km of new permanent way between Hanover and Würzburg, as ideally suited for day services. As the new trains would link Hamburg and Munich in about five hours there would be no need to travel overnight, with the extra cost of couchettes or sleeping cars. Transport experts say services could run at a profit with 60 cars on board, and the new design makes it easy to drive on and off at stations en route.

Walter M. Lehmann
(Die Welt, Bonn, 31 May 1988)



Park and ride. The Bundesbahn's idea of combining car and rail travel

(Photo: ADAC MOTORWELT/KOM/DESIGN)

New breed of car-carrying train planned

Plans are fast taking shape at Deutsche Bundesbahn, the German Federal Railways, for a new generation of combined car and passenger trains.

They will be a far cry from the existing autorail services and will, it is hoped, help to increase the volume of traffic on new high-speed sections of permanent way.

They weren't on show at IVA '88, the Hamburg transport fair; it merely featured the forerunners of the Intercity expresses that are scheduled to run at 250kph (150mph) from 1991.

But the days of shunting cars on and off double-decker goods wagons and clambering up and down dirty ladders seem numbered.

The Federal Transport Ministry in Bonn and the Bundesbahn in Frankfurt have commissioned a project survey from the department of railway engineering at the Technical University, Berlin.

Henning Klein of the Bundesbahn

board first mentioned the idea at the Hamburg Portex fair in May 1985. He said in an interview with *Die Welt* that goods and passenger traffic would be combined by the turn of the century.

He saw no reason why the new railcars could not haul both container boxes and "higher-grade" carriages. The new autorail project is one such idea.

The Berlin boffins plan to make it much easier for motorists to enter. They will be able to book at short notice and drive on and off with ease.

At the station the motorist drives his car (and passengers) on to a pallet. It is then moved by conveyor belt into an empty box.

Once the car is safely on board the roller door is closed automatically, leaving the motorist and his passengers to head for the restaurant car or upstairs seats with wide-view windows.

They can return to the car at any time during the journey.

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A spokesman for the federal agency

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■ AVIATION

Over-crowded skies play havoc with timetables and safety margins

SONNTAGSBLATT

for air safety in Frankfurt said: "Air traffic has developed so quickly we have not been able to keep up."

Air-traffic controllers are working flat out. They maintain that because air traffic has become so dense "we must put on the brakes." That means more delays for passengers at airports, more queues for the runways and more holdups in the air, waiting to land.

No one foresaw this boom which meant that last year, German airports handled 64 million passengers. Capacity has been reached.

Munich is almost falling apart. Private aircraft and small-plane traffic is being moved elsewhere. Allocations for scheduled and charter flights are being limited.

Until the new airport, Munich II, is ready, air traffic in the city will keep tottering on the edge of chaos.

In the first quarter of this year every second Lufthansa passenger was delayed in take-off or landing. The airline claims that it was only responsible for two percent of these delays.

Lufthansa boss Heinz Ruhrau has calculated for the Bundestag's traffic committee that his pilots flew 6,000 hours in holding patterns over nine airports in 1987 waiting for landing permission. This piled on extra costs of about DM50m.

Only normal air traffic is possible in Munich, Frankfurt or Düsseldorf in quiet periods.

These periods are getting fewer all the time as more and more people fly off for a few days holiday on a long weekend, at Christmas, Easter or Whitsun. From mid-June the position will become really bad when the school holidays begin.

If there is any kind of a technical breakdown, however, if, for instance, the radar system blacks-out temporarily, and the emergency equipment does not immediately go into operation, it could be too late.

Despite constant replacements Federal Republic air-traffic controllers work to some extent with ancient equipment.

The federal air safety agency is to get DM140m in the next budget for new

flight, cannot take-off from it. There are problems in extending Düsseldorf's runway because the airport is in a residential area.

Cologne-Bonn airport is not far away and has a runway 3,800 metres in length, which is no problem for the extended 747s.

But the airlines, primarily charter companies such as Lufttransport Unternehmen (LTU) of Düsseldorf, want to concentrate their wide-bodied aircraft on a few airports, for reasons of economy. Where possible they want to organise everything from a "home base."

The solution to the problem is not in the air. Sooner or later domestic air traffic in the Federal Republic will have to be diverted more and more to rail or to systems such as magneto-hydrodynamic rail travel, paradoxical as that may sound.

For some time Lufthansa has been running station-to-airport train feeder services between Frankfurt and Düsseldorf. The Airport Express is an attractive alternative to domestic connecting flights, particularly as it now also runs between Bonn and Cologne on its way and from Bonn-Cologne airport, which is in the middle.

Transport Minister Warnke sees himself in an "ideologically controversial bottleneck" because he is not allowed to build any new roads, airports or sections of railway.

He assumes, however, that from the mid-1990s more alternative connections could be offered by the extension of German railways' high-speed rail sections.

Peter Zudeck

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt,
Bamberg, 29 May 1988)

Continued from page 5

ship. "We, too, have to stand up for peace and freedom."

The diplomat from Cyprus, who spoke English, used the German word *Teilung* (division) when describing both the situation in Görzendorf and back home.

In his opinion, the difference begins where the wall ends and two East German border guards could be seen facing two West German guards without saying a word.

The East German guards just took out their binoculars and telephoto cameras.

The Cypriot said: "Back in Cyprus cigarettes and *Playboy* magazines are exchanged on such occasions.

"This here is the very special German *Teilung*".

Sabine Kubes

(Die Welt, Bonn, 28 May 1988)

IDEAS

Unremitting contest between physics and philosophy



It is well known that Ernst Albrecht, Prime Minister of Lower Saxony, has bent for philosophy, and it is thanks to him that Hannover, the state capital, has hosted a philosophical congress.

The duration and the list of participants have made it a unique event in the Federal Republic.

And if that draws the eyes of an interested public to the state, not well-known as being a cradle of thought, all the better for the Lower Saxon Foundation, which organised the congress and whose president Ernst Albrecht is. The foundation was established to promote philosophy in the state.

The congress also disproved another view widely held — that politicians can see no further than the next election.

There were two aspects to the congress, entitled "Mind & Nature." Firstly it was a definition of an approach to the world today and its thought; and secondly a search for ways out of the crisis in which mankind unquestionably finds itself.

The congress also examined if Eastern religions could be of use. This unleashed irritation in the run-up to the congress among the two main Christian churches.

The Protestant Central Office for Weltanschauung Questions primarily feared that the congress could be diverted into the channels of the "New Age" movement, this conglomeration of the esoteric and occultism, Asian philosophy and strivings for unity — and that Whitson in the Christian calendar.

There was nothing to suggest this would happen and in view of the make-up of the congress these fears were unfounded from the very beginning.

Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker was its intellectual mentor, and the list of participants included names such as Morris Berman, Hans-Peter Dürr, John Eccles, Manfred Eigen, Roger Garaudy, Max Jammer, Hans Jonas, Cardinal Franz König, Ronald D. Luing, Sir Karl Popper and Ilya Prigogine.

A glance at this list of participants already gives some idea of the direction the congress would take; an unremitting encounter between natural science and the arts, between physics and philosophy.

This philosophy limited more starkly traditional scientific thinking than the penetration of the Eastern body of thought.

The title of the congress, "Mind & Nature," presents a conclusion and a question at one and the same time. Western thought has been convinced that there is a dualism in mind and nature at the least since Descartes. The question is whether this has led us into a cul-de-sac and whether there is a way out.

It was the generally held conviction in Hanover that we are now in fact almost standing before a wall at the end of a street. The threats of nuclear and ecological catastrophe are proofs of this.

That is just the consequence of thought, that scientists have carried beyond the world, which they are exploring.

Naturally this raises questions of scientists' responsibility, which they can only evade to a slight degree.

But at least the Göttingen Nobel Prize Winner Manfred Eigen banned any intrusion into research freedom and Münich psychologist Ernst Pöppel maintained that environmental disturbance was played up by the media.

Physics and philosophy — Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker indicated a bridge that could bind mind and nature together again.

He took for his point of departure the Quantum Theory that shows, in a most lasting manner, the old mechanistic image of the world and the scientific view linked to it.

As a consequence the discovery that it is a question of observation whether an electron appears as a particle or as a wave, that one can indicate neither its location nor its impulse, thus a statement about its behaviour cannot be deterministic but is only possible at the level of statistical reality and that on top of everything else the observer only intervenes through his observation in the system and so becomes a part of it.

Weizsäcker announced Cartesian mind-nature dualism to be power ideology. "Why should not expansive reality also be able to think, why should thinking not be able to present itself expansively?"

He said that in the Quantum Theory one has the only criterion for: since it denies the finality of all divisions. "Every determinable alternative is connected in truth with every other one."

He went on to say: "The world is not made up of objects; only the limited understanding of man analyses the whole

Continued on page 11

to which he himself belongs, in objects, in order to find his way."

Weizsäcker had to leave open whether a plausible way was demonstrated. He added ironically: "Philosophy is basically too difficult for us."

This could also be said of many of the lectures during the congress. They showed that the experts lacked intellectual discipline.

But on the other hand this gave the pleasure of eavesdropping on speakers who themselves had intellectual discipline.

For instance Max Jammer in his discussion on the question whether Kant's transcendental philosophy got along with the discoveries of modern physics.

The answer was yes and no, but one had to go on arguing despite the fact that the dispute has been raging for 60 years.

Sir Karl, who is 86, added: "That is grotesquely untrue." Many young people had been driven to despair because of it. One result was drug-taking.

"Despite Hitler, Stalin and other irresponsible ideologists, society had been made better and more just — except in developing countries."

His speech was greeted sometimes with boos and cat-calls but also with applause. The discussion which followed was occasionally heated.

Physicist and philosopher Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker said at the end of the seven-day congress that every problem could be solved by applying common sense.

But anyone who had never fallen into despair over mankind's problems did not know what he was talking about.

Commenting on Sir Karl's speech, von Weizsäcker said some understandably rejected his ideas but no-one could doubt Sir Karl's moral integrity.

The congress, organised by the Lower Saxon Foundation, aimed at analysing the tension between philosophy and natural science, between Eastern and Western thought.

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 28 May 1988)

Heidegger and the Nazis: debate rages on

which bunches together the research work of Guido Schneberger and Hugo Ott.

This time the controversial theme of "Heidegger, National Socialism and Revolutionary Conservatism. Heidegger's political thought and his philosophy," attracted to Düsseldorf such well-known Martin Heidegger experts as Walter Biemel, Otto Pöggeler, Rainer Marten and Victor Farias.

Farias comes from Chile and is teaching in Berlin. He has written a book about Heidegger's Nazi past which unleashed a hectic Heidegger debate first in France, then in Germany and Italy.

There was dispute about the fact that the undoubtedly greatest and most influential thinker of this century had betrayed his intellect to the anti-intellectual movement.

This opened up prospects of proving an internal link between National Socialism and Heidegger's philosophy.

What in France led to a brilliant attempt at interpretation, by Derrida and Lavinus, has given the academic world in the Federal Republic food for thought but it has not sunk to the depths of hangnail with the facts.

In retrospect one could call the battle of quotations, that took place in Düsseldorf to the amusement of the public, "Anecdote against anecdote," or "Memories against memories," despite the seriousness of the theme.

Farias repeated the three central points of his dossier on Heidegger, pointing out that he himself belongs, in objects, in order to find his way."

Weizsäcker and Biemel both criticised

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(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 28 May 1988)

Both jeers and cheers for A-bomb theory

A pessimistic world outlook resulting from the dropping of the atomic bomb on Japan has poisoned the world's intellectual climate, according to Sir Karl Popper of Oxford University.

He was speaking at a philosophical congress in Hanover. He said the atom bomb had been "ideologically" used to paint a horrific picture of the world.

This "propaganda" suggests a world that is being ruined by industry's greed and political mismanagement.

Sir Karl, who is 86, added: "That is grotesquely untrue." Many young people had been driven to despair because of it. One result was drug-taking.

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Clowns were leaping about among the trees in the Elisabethplatz, a boisterous singer was warbling away in the tent and in the sun someone was improvising a sketch. It was a real celebration.

But then the weather changed for the 3rd International Children and Youth Festival. The sky over the city was grey. It was rainy and bitter cold.

Anyone who wanted to cheer himself up for the youth theatre froze in the rain in front of the theatre doors still clutched ten minutes after the scheduled time for the performance to begin.

It was a long way to the other Festival venues, scattered about the city.

Audience and children's theatre performers came together to perform, but "Schau Spiele '88" was only artistically exciting in its second, cold half.

The most heart-warming performances in the Festival took place out of doors, of all places, in the damp, open Englischer Garten.

It was pitch-dark when the spectators stumbled through the bushes, everyone carrying a torch. The light beams played over twigs, branches and leaves and landed suddenly on flashing figures with hooked noses, who were veiled in dark scarfs.

There was no room for doubt: demons were haunting the Englischer Garten.

Two men stood in the glow of a fire on the banks of a lake wearing rustling cloaks. Then between the fire and the beams of the torches there emerged out of the darkness a pile of uprooted earth and cart.

This was the mountain of the demons around which, in gruesome, archaic scenes the legend of the maledict Milena was played out. *Montedoro* is a story of birth and death, superstition and sheer foolishness.

At this point the emotional proximity to anti-modern National Socialism can be found, and the label "revolutionary conservatism" in the title of this discussion points to this and related directions.

This heuristic sign was however blocked by the know-all attitude of a discussion, in which the fact that Heidegger had given the Nazi salute in Freiburg was maliciously countered with Adorno's Nazi poems.

Heimo Schwilk
(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 6 May 1988)

This heuristic sign was however blocked by the know-all attitude of a discussion, in which the fact that Heidegger had given the Nazi salute in Freiburg was maliciously countered with Adorno's Nazi poems.

Biologists and racism cannot fundamentally be recognised in Heidegger's existential ontology, even if Farias believes he has been able to unmask the Nazi philosopher deviously.

Farias repeated the three central points of his dossier on Heidegger,

pointing out that he himself belongs, in objects, in order to find his way."

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■ EDUCATION

Degree by mail-order at Germany's only correspondence university

Hagen doesn't seem like a university town. Most of its 75 professors and 34,000 students live somewhere else. Pupils take correspondence courses. Many don't even want to graduate. They just want to learn more. This is the only university without a campus in Germany.

Professor Ulrich Battis is vice-chancellor, Martina Meister a student at Hagen University. If she, or any of the 34,000 students, wants to see him or her professor she must either travel or use a video cassette.

She lives in Munich, 580 km (360 miles) south of Hagen, and studies in the kitchen of her apartment.

Munich is a university town too, of course, but conventional undergraduate life is ruled out because she has two small sons.

Her husband keeps an eye on the children in the evening and at the weekend, so she can work her way through the course material she is mailed once a fortnight (it includes video cassettes for some courses).

She plans to graduate in economics from her kitchen table by 1992 and may go on to write a PhD thesis.

Professor Battis lives in an attractive detached house in Hagen that is only a stone's throw from the concrete block that houses the university's computer and the mailing department, the focal point of a campus without students.

Course material and marked papers are mailed to students mainly in the Federal Republic of Germany, but Hagen has students as far afield as Australia.

Nearly 5,000 big buff envelopes a day are mailed, 650,181 in the course of the 1987 academic year.

"We mail so much primed paper," Professor Battis says, "that we don't deserve to be called the Johannes Gutenberg University."

At Hagen head sorting office a staff of 60 do nothing but handle mail to and from the university. Apart from them hardly anyone in Hagen would know it was a university town.

Professor Battis is hon. pres. of the local soccer club and a fan of tossing the caber, which is a Westphalian sporting speciality.

Every summer he invites 800 local dignitaries to a garden party at Villa Bechem, but most of the 75 professors live elsewhere, and there are no students either.

A university without a campus and with nothing but extra-mural students is something unusual worldwide, but Hagen is the only one of its kind in Germany.

It was inaugurated in April 1975 by Johannes Rau, then Science and Research Minister, now Prime Minister of North Rhine-Westphalia.

He asked the first vice-chancellor, Otto Peters, if he could congratulate some of the first student intake and was shown a couple of young people whom he shook hands, wishing them all the best.

Little did he know that they weren't students at all, merely young members of the university staff who doubled as students — because the idea of a university without them somehow didn't seem to make sense.

Hagen was the last of a crop of "comprehensive universities" set up in North

Rhine-Westphalia in the 1960s and 1970s, the pressure of young people keen to study at university having triggered a debate on correspondence courses.

It is still often seen in Germany as a late brainchild of Social Democratic education policy, but in reality it reflects an international trend.

Hagen corresponds to the Open University in Britain and to similar correspondence course facilities in the United States, the Soviet Union and the Third World.

Academic education is steadily evolving worldwide into an adult and further education system.

No-one in the Federal Republic was opposed in principle to the idea of correspondence courses, but conservative education policymakers envisaged extra-mural courses at existing universities.

This proved too expensive and impracticable, so North Rhine-Westphalia grasped the initiative and set up a correspondence course university of its own.

Its declared aim was to provide at greater speed and less expense the largest possible number of extra university places, to make a contribution toward the reform of university studies and to break new ground in further education.

What has become of these targets 14 years later (Hagen was endowed in 1974)?

Shortage of funds soon nipped in the bud plans to expand and open up further facilities, while existing facilities had to struggle for a share of what was left.

Hagen has yet to offer degree courses in law, which is a subject ideally suited for the media and methods of correspondence courses.

Closure of a conventional university college in Hagen has been a windfall, with the transfer of 45 new members of staff, including six professors.

They have given the departments of electronics and information science a great boost, says Professor Battis, who does not see himself as a gold-digger or a legacy-hunter.

He is delighted to have benefited from the influx of extra staff. He also

welcomes the new buildings taken over from the college that closed down.

As for the reform of university studies Hagen sees its contribution as the carefully thought-out range of course material on offer, a range from which students can pick and choose to suit their specific career requirements.

A business studies graduate who is interested in the export trade can study international maritime law, foreign exchange, international fiscal problems, transport law and the like.

If he is interested in personnel management he may study public law, manufacturing law and psychology. These are useful and pertinent combinations.

But can they be classified as a reform of university studies? Professor Battis takes a more level-headed view than his predecessor, Professor Peters.

"We can't really manage without a study centre," Frau Melstar says.

Capital, the business monthly, published a league table of German universities a while ago. Hagen ranked among the best in economics. "I do hope Bavarian firms are aware of the fact," he says.

Printed course material can be checked by others, which initially led to young academics paying more attention to their academic reputation than to the need to be comprehensible and educationally sound.

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Else," he says. Where Hagen has succeeded has been in offering university courses for a larger number of students than expected and in enabling people who might not otherwise have studied to take up university education.

There is no need to provide facilities for people geographically remote from the nearest university, as in the Soviet Union. If anything, the opposite is the case.

Hagen students and graduates are to be found in Frankfurt, Munich, Stuttgart, Hamburg and along the Rhine — in cities and towns that often have a cluster of conventional universities.

They are mature students who study after work to get on in their careers.

Ninety per cent of Hagen's 34,000 students work for a living if you include, as Hagen does, mothers with children to bring up.

Professor Battis plans to make more use of TV too (a prospect many of his staff view with dismay). At present Hagen has a modest fortnightly *Westdeutscher Rundfunk* slot for programmes of its own.

He plans to treble this programme time and share it, in co-productions, with other universities. Use is to be made of Olympus, the Esa satellite that is due to be launched next autumn.

Asked whether it might not be simpler to continue mailing video cassettes to students (rather than to plan TV programmes for screening all over Europe), he says:

"What we offer at present does little more than satisfy the natural vanity of our professors, but we are still better than the TV test card."

One deadweight dating back to Hagen's early days is still a heavy burden on students, especially in Bavaria, where 3,658 live (second in number to North Rhine-Westphalia).

It is the problem of studying on your own. "Orals are extremely difficult, not to mention job interviews, when you have been used to beavering away on your own," Martina Meister says.

Part-time tutors now lend a helping hand at over 40 study centres for Hagen University students all over the country. They also encourage the formation of study groups.

A majority of CDU/CSU-ruled *Länder* initially vetoed the establishment of these study centres. They feared the "comprehensive university" might get its foot in the door, as it were.

CDU/CSU *Länder* are strongly opposed to the concept, and Munich refuses to this day to allow Hagen study centres to operate in Bavaria. Three SPD-backed motions in the state assembly have been defeated.

Professor Battis has no doubt as to what makes Hagen so popular with academic staff, who write course material rather than give lectures.

"They don't have to give eight hours of lectures a week," he says, "and can work undisturbed at home instead."

"Let us be honest and admit that students are the real bone of university life. Here we don't have droves of beginners, just small groups of PhD students, who are much more fun."

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"We can't really manage without a study centre," Frau Melstar says.

Evelyn Rollins

(*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, Munich, 24 May 1988)

One Hagen course in economic mathematics had a 100-per-cent failure rate!

But the correspondence course research centre has monitored the situation, and it has greatly improved.

Half the course material is written by Hagen University staff, the other half by specialists and established authorities at other universities and research facilities.

Hagen course material is so popular that it can be found at other, conventional universities. Academic research at Hagen is also held in high repute.

The university compares well with other, larger and longer-established universities in outside funds raised per member of academic staff, a respectable number of whom have been appointed to posts at other universities.

As yet Hagen makes surprisingly little use of the new media, but that will change in a few years' time. A number of students already link up with the university computer at night (when telephone charges are lower). Computer graphics programs are soon to be included in course material.

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■ THE ENVIRONMENT

Huge carpet of killer seaweed choking sealife as it multiplies out of control

Europe is in the grip of another environmental disaster — this time in the North and Baltic Seas where an enormous carpet of algae (seaweed) up to 10 metres thick is killing everything in its path. The algae are multiplying at a tremendous rate, feeding off massive amounts of man-made toxins from industrial, domestic and rural sources and delivered in sea and air. But scientists have not yet been able to establish the precise connection between the effluent, the algae and the throttling of thousands of square miles of sea. This article was written for the Munich daily, *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, by Martin Urban.

This catastrophe has come suddenly but not unexpectedly. Even its exact location, the confluence of the North Sea and the Baltic, is known black spot.

Nothing is known about the life

rhythm of *Chrysocromulina polycarpa*

and no-one knows why it is displacing

more customary forms of seaweed.

Prince Charles said in his address to the North Sea conference in London last November: "Science teaches us first and foremost that ecology is fraught with uncertainty."

The British government is a great believer in the argument that much more research must be undertaken before action can be envisaged. It is an argument popular with pollution culprits in Germany too.

Prince Charles warned: "While we are waiting for the doctor's diagnosis the patient could die." It could die one of many deaths mankind inflicts on nature.

Man-made toxins do not simply vanish into the air, the soil or the water. But much more detailed information has been brought to light.

Hamburg University oceanologists have proved that pollution sent along large rivers into the North Sea collects and is enriched in the Kattegat and the Skagerrak.

Toxins pumped into the Rhine, the Elbe and the Weser (not to mention British rivers) that find their way into

the sea are being

described as a maritime Chernobyl. A tiny single-cell alga, *Chrysocromulina polycarpa*, has suddenly begun multiplying at an enormous rate.

The resulting sludge of dead seaweed up to 10 metres thick is choking all life in the sea, from the starfish to the salmon and other edible fish. Seals are also dying by the hundred, especially pregnant females.

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SOCIETY

A hot-line and a home for despairing girls with nowhere else to turn

Teenage girls in Munich who are desperate to leave home and don't know where to turn can now contact a state-backed agency in the city.

Initiative Münchner Mädchenarbeit (IMMA) has five social educationists on the staff and a telephone hot line open round the clock.

Girls are offered reaccommodation at a refuge — and the address is a well-kept secret for outsiders.

One of the workers, Gudrun Keller, who was also one of the project's initiators, says that girls often ring up and are unable to bring themselves to say anything: "You can hear someone on the line, but she's not confident enough to speak. She just cannot find the words."

Attempts are made to keep the caller on the line, but many hang up. Frau Keller says: "We think that many of those who hang up are not in any immediate difficulty but want to make sure that the telephone number really is an avenue to help in case one day there really is an emergency." Some days there are as many as 20 calls of this kind.

The address of the home, like homes for battered wives, is a secret. A girl seeking advice can count on total anonymity. She knows unwanted visitors will not turn up.

In this atmosphere, she can tell a qualified worker her problems with the feeling that she is getting a sympathetic hearing.

A girl's parents are told that their daughter has been taken in only 24 hours afterwards. They have to give their approval if she is to stay, but they are not given the address. The girl alone decides if she will or will not return home.

There are occasionally some phone calls from irate parents who have heard of IMMA and suppose that their daughters have fled there.

Many of the girls are indeed runaways, 14- and 15-year-olds who are frightened of returning home because they fear they will be punished. They feel misunderstood and unloved.

Some girls have run away because they are not allowed to have a boyfriend; others because they haven't been allowed to choose their own careers; and others because they feel that too much is expected of them. Many have had to endure scenes; many have been beaten.

These are everyday difficulties that occasionally can be resolved by a face-to-face talk between workers and the mother. What is more alarming is that many girls are unprepared to tolerate any kind of compromise.

Frau Keller says: "This refusal often hides the fact that behind the ostensible problems there is unshakable unease of sexism."

A week after the girls' home was set up all ten places in it were taken up. The girls, German and foreigners, come from Munich and its environs. Only girls who themselves seek shelter are taken in. Voluntary action is IMMA's main principle.

The police, for instance, cannot bring anyone in the girls' home just because some other local authority has decided that a girl should be put in a home or because the homes for battered wives are over-crowded.

The home is partly financed by the city of Munich, so that staying there does not cost anything — one less inhibiting factor for many young girls who fear that eventually financial demands

for reaccommodation could be made of their parents and so their dependence on their parents will be increased.

Irmgard Heinkel, one of the social workers, said: "Girls who have been sexually abused for years on end and are in a state of emotional crisis rarely call on us." She continued: "More often than not a person such as a doctor, friend, social worker or teacher brings the case to our attention."

These people have for one reason or another realised that the girl is in distress strength, for instance, an attempted suicide, a nervous breakdown, injuries, venereal disease or pregnancy.

When the girl's confidence has been won and she has decided to leave home this is arranged through a social worker and she is accommodated in the home.

The home is only a provisional solution to a girl's problems, however. A permanent home has to be found for her in consultation with IMMA social workers, either in a boarding school for girls, in company accommodation provided for job trainees or in communal accommodation where a girl can live independently of home or until she has reached her majority or can earn her livelihood.

Social workers admit that it is not the best solution, but it is something. The shelter is the first step to a future "integrated" home for girls, where girls can live together in groups, make firm contacts and where educationalists are on hand to give them support and help who urgently need help.

Frau Keller said: "To a considerable extent a girl's interests are lost in the group in existing social institutions. What is lacking is specialised training for people who are involved in getting to the root of the problems that involve these girls."

Even if a girl has been sexually abused the professionals do not always know what to do for the best, according

to a study produced for Family Affairs Minister Rita Süssmuth.

Sexual violence against children and young girls is a taboo subject at all levels of society, because it is very emotive. People can only be made aware of the problem by being confronted with it.

Independent women's groups like "Wilderwasser," "Nostrif" and IMMA have forced people to face up to this problem through their activities.

Grown women have broken their silence and spoken freely of the physical and emotional torture they underwent in their youth.

Books for young people have also cautiously tackled this repressed nightmare of being in a state of helplessness.

According to figures from the Federal Crime Office 300,000 children suffer in this way annually, and between 80 and 90 per cent of them are girls, abused by a male close to the family.

The closer the relationship the greater the increase in the number of cases of sexual abuse as regards duration and frequency.

Equally there has been a drop in the attempts made by victims of abuse to seek help.

Often the girl's position in society as a female has the effect that she does not defend herself. Girls remain silent, intimidated by threats. They have a feeling of guilt or shame. They remain silent out of consideration of their mothers and because they are worried that the family will break up.

The members of the Munich initiative have called for an independent group to help young women who are, or were, exposed to sexual violence.

Furthermore they have organised a further training programme for women who could be confronted with the problem through their jobs.

Only through independent aid groups do many girls learn that they are not alone in their distress.

They learn in the groups, aided by psychologists in the initiative, how to deal with the destructive experiences they have had.

Miriam Neiber
(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt,
Bonn, 27 May 1988)

A hostile world for young Turkish women

Ernestine Minnerup is a social worker in the Ruhr mining centre of Moers, near Essen. Her job is to help girls with what are called "social disadvantages". This is normally a euphemism for unemployment.

Most of the girls she tries to help are Turkish. Eighty per cent of the young people without jobs in Moers are girls and many of them are Turkish.

There are, of course, other problems:

Turks in Moers are subject to attack by Neo-Nazis; and Turkish girls are torn between the traditional upbringing at home and the desire for an emancipated existence, which they see in German society.

Turkish music can be heard every Thursday afternoon coming from the basement of a Protestant church community building in the Moers district of Repeken. Familiarising food smells come from the kitchen.

Frau Minnerup believes that a girl should find out for herself what she can and make the most of it.

Aysel, a 17-year-old girl, is a good example. She applied for a job as a doctor's assistant, pointing out she could also act as an interpreter for the doctor's Turkish patients. She knew that doctors were looking for this combination of abilities.

Frau Minnerup has observed that Turkish girls, urged on when they are still young by the family, have a much more definite idea of what kind of work they want to do than do German girls.

Turkish girls have taken on such un-

derstandable jobs as being carpenters,

Since last year the Moers Youth Affairs Office has had its own department to advise young girls of all nationalities. Consultation hours are mainly attended by German girls.

Frau Minnerup listens every day to problems about unemployment, school difficulties with the family and increasingly to cases of sexual abuse by family members or friends of the family.

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Frau Minnerup works with Cemile Geklik, a 23-year-old Turkish woman who acts as interpreter and as a contact for many of the Turks who live in this sector of Moers.

Frau Minnerup and Cemile Geklik

have a study produced for Family Affairs Minister Rita Süssmuth.

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United Religious Institute (DITIB), which is none other than the German branch of the highest religious authority in Ankara, the Diyanet.

The Diyanet is the body which is responsible for religious development and the training of holy men.

It is reported that workers at the Diyanet centre in Cologne try to disguise the fact that the centre is much like a ministry of the Turkish government.

Often, the centre uses general descriptions to cover the entirety of its activities: the use of "qualified religious servants with pedagogic importance" was a guarantee that the religious faith of Turkish Muslims in Germany would remain free from all types of fanaticism and free "from waylaying influences" to remain on a straight and true path.

There is no doubt that those with a say in Ankara and the branch office in Cologne want to demolish the political-religious threat.

An insider said: "No matter what the situation is today, it could be overtaken tomorrow."

Erbakan's organisation began appearing with monotonous regularity in *Verfassungsschutz* reports. It used to be called Milli Görüs (National Viewpoint), and later became AMGTE and then Refah-Partei.

It served as a rallying point for members of the Salvation Party which was banned after the coup in Turkey in 1980.

Erbakan is a technocrat with a western education. He studied machine-engineering in Aachen and worked as an engineer in Cologne. In the 1970s, he was the kingmaker in diverse Muslim coalitions. Today he openly advocates that Turkey should be a theocracy.

He has shown that if any of the faithful in Germany step out of line, he will not hesitate to use the iron heel. Three years ago, he summarily changed the leadership of AMGTE on the suspicion that they had come under the influence of the International Muslim brotherhood in Cairo instead of keeping their eye on what was happening in Turkey.

The grey eminence of the Cologne-based movement used to be Erbakan's brother, Akgün, who is now dead. The next-in-line will probably be Mehmed Sabri, the 22-year-old son of Akgün Erbakan and a medical student. He is learning to imitate the gestures and diction of his uncle.

Kaplan is recognised by the *Verfassungsschutz*, the counter-espionage service, as the head of Turkish fundamentalism in Germany. Kaplan describes himself as "slanderous." The declared aim of

HORIZONS

Police raid school run by the Khomeini of Cologne

Cemealeddin Kaplan, 62, comes from eastern Turkey. He is one of the most influential Islamic fundamentalist leaders in Germany. Last month, a school run by Kaplan adherents was raided by the Cologne police. The 84 children, mostly Turkish, were sent home. Harald Bliskup looks at the state of Islamic extremism in Germany for the *Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger*.

Kaplan and his followers is to turn Turkey into a religious state along the lines of Iran.

Kaplan's sobriquet, the Khomeini of Cologne, is not merely an invention thought up by journalists; there are parallels between his aggressive campaign against the "unbelievers" and the underground activities of the Iranians in their days of exile before the Shah was overthrown.

According to Mumcu, Kaplan runs an import-export firm called Knir-Bir which is supported from Teheran "at all levels". But he says that this is still the weakest of all the fundamentalist groups.

Kaplan's organisation, of about 3,000 followers, is officially called Verband Islamischer Vereine und Gemeinden e.V. (the Association of Islamic Clubs and Communities).

It is an offshoot of another organisation called Islamischer Union (the German Islamic Union), which is headed by Necmettin Erbakan. This group also dreams of a Turkey ruled along Iranian-like fundamentalist lines.

Erbakan's group is not so strident in its call for a holy war against the legacy of Ataturk. Its plan is: first get political power, then let the revolution run.

The split between the two came when Kaplan, a Sunni Muslim, went to visit his Shi'ite idols in Teheran. This turned many of his followers against him and they went back to the parent organisation.

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And the negative headlines that surrounded the former head, an Imam called Harun Resit Tiryol, have not been forgotten. He was responsible for a catechism-like textbook containing quotes that were described as "blood-thirsty".

According to documentation by the Evangelical Press Service (epd), IKZ gets more than moral support from Libya; it has also good connection with the Muslim League and the Saudi oil company Aramco.

The group are sometimes called "pin-striped Muslims" by its critics because of the way its members like to present themselves as somewhat genteel.

The group is said to maintain connections with an organisation called the Turkish Federation which, in turn, does not deny that it has close ties with a fascist group called the National Movement Party. How long this subgrouping will last is something only Allah himself knows.

The great majority of Turks in Germany take little notice of the activities of all these groups. But they do notice that whenever anything about the Khomeini of Cologne appears in the newspapers, the atmosphere around them becomes a little bit tamer.

Harald Bliskup
(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 12 May 1988)



Time to smash the backbone of ungodly, says Mr Kaplan.
(Photo: dpa)

They approached former Bonn President Karl Carstens and, even more amazingly, the late Catholic Cardinal Höffner. Without success.

There appears to be little lateral linkage between the various organisations. According to the report, which was compiled by Turks, a state of open war existed for about a year between Milli Görüs and another organisation called Verband Islamischer Kulturzentren e.V. (the Association of Islamic Cultural Centres) known by its initials of IKZ. This is the foreign branch of the Silaymanli movement.

IKZ is run on centralist, hierarchical lines. It is the biggest but has also the lowest profile of all the Turkish political-religious organisations in Germany. Outwardly it portrays itself as unpolitical. A policy paper declares that its aims are purely theological and that it has no political objectives. But there are reasons to doubt this.